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137 country included within the juncture of the Gila and Salt Rivers. Indeed, this region was so choked with mesquite and other bushes as to be nearly impenetrable. For that reason, being at [648] the same time relatively near the Yavapai, it was dangerous territory. This was also the best region for fishing and abounded in 226 rabbits. Fish were taken mostly in Santa Cruz slough at the northern foot of the Sierra Estrella and at the Salt-Gila confluence. From there the Maricopa drifted up the Salt fishing and gathering to a point just above Phoenix, beyond which it was not safe to go. They did not fish much in the Gila. Family parties [594] went together, camping under the bushes. As the women went [222] out gathering mesquite beans, men would accompany them for [246] protection and to hunt jackrabbits. Camp was frequently shifted [361] as the bushes were stripped clean. It was also their habit to move back and forth between the Gila and Salt to foil any lurking enemies. It was customary to include the whole family on such expeditions, although younger children were ordinarily left home in the care of friends when women went out on a day's excursion.

WILD PLANT PRODUCTS

222 The chief interest in wild plant products lay in the mesquite beans and giant cactus (sahuaro) fruit. Other wild plants were more casually used: the following description includes the principal but is not exhaustive.

Mesquite furnished the plant staple. Two or three varieties of ● [824] the bush grew in this region: screw and straight bean mesquite, and a subvariety of the latter, differing from the common variety in its large thorns. (It is of interest that the straight bean and its bush bore separate names, iya′ and ana′l$_y$: this was not true of the screw bean, i′i′c, nor the long thorned bean, tŏtxač′tk:) The straight bean variety was most plentiful. These bean pods were said to be softer than those growing in the old Halchidhoma country on the Colorado. Mesquite was gathered from early July to the end of August. Certain trees were known for large or [476] sweet beans, but these were not private property. A group of women would go gathering together for fear of the enemy; several men might be within reach.

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252 [222] thickly under the trees. Gathered in piles, they were beaten until broken, winnowed in baskets, and the meats taken home. Several women together parched them by tumbling with coals; then they were finally ground on the metate and again winnowed in baskets. This occupied a morning. At noon the ground meal was taken to the river bank, where it was put in a big hole, prepared by firmly patting down the sand. One woman alone proceeded to [463] leach the bitter meal; one who was specially versed in the technique. She was called "a woman with dry hands" (ica'l,åsŭtk, "dry hands"). She alone fetched water to pour through the meal, repeating the soaking as it drained away. All afternoon was required for this task. So long as the nuts remained bitter, the water poured on them continued foamy. When the liquid was finally clear, all the women cut the meal cake with sharp sticks, lifted out their portions, carefully scraped the sand from the bottom, and carried them home in baskets. This was eaten dry.

The little sour beans of the cholla cactus (? åtŏ't; also the beans), ripening in March or early April (?), were pit roasted. These were placed on a flat rock in the mountains to be rolled about with a stick to remove the spines. The pit in which they were roasted was small (up to two feet in diameter, one foot deep), since the beans were only about the size of peanuts, and it was hard work to fill the hole. Flat stones were heated in the pit. Late in the evening the beans were put in the hole on a layer of branches of a certain green bush covering the hot stones. They were heaped higher than the surface of the ground, covered with another layer of the same bush, then more hot stones, and banked with a little dirt. A small fire was started over this to keep the stones hot. They were ready in the morning, when they were taken out to dry, while the women went off to gather more.

[222] Opuntia cactus fruit, which was rare in this locality, was gathered in September. It was eaten only fresh, and was said to ● [824] give the eater chills.[5] The prickly pear was rolled on the ground with a stick to remove the fine spines or brushed with a bit of sage bush. Tongs were unknown. It was split, peeled, and the 824 [231] [171] flesh eaten raw. (Sometimes the juice was squeezed on a white horse to make decorative spots.)

[5] Lloyd (p. 123) notes identical Pima opinion.

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horse to make decorative spots.) Both the fruit and the plant were called kălyă'p, "flat," for the flat leaf-like stems. 824

Yucca baccata grew in the desert to the north. The banana-like fruit was eaten fresh; also stored by splitting and drying. Plant and fruit were ĭtcakwa'tc. 222 [251]

Some stems and leaves of plants were eaten. A plant growing in the mountains (hence called åvi', "mountain") looked like asparagus and was bitter. The stems were roasted in ashes. A little plant, called mŭckwo', was washed and boiled. When tender this was squeezed out between the hands and eaten with salt. The leaves of ågwa'vå, probably pigweed, larger than spinach leaves, were boiled and eaten with salt. This was gathered in the fall. 252

Mescal, the agave plant (maðĭ'l), was not much eaten because it did not grow in this locality. A few plants grew on the higher parts of the mountains to the south and more plentifully beyond in that direction. It was gathered by men because it grew too far away for the women to go. Most that they used was brought from the Papago country in cooked form. The growing plant was severed from its root by the customary chisel (n,ĭmtakĭ't or maðil,yĭmtåkĭ'tĭc, "mescal–to cut off with"). This was a stick twenty inches long, two in diameter, flattened near one end to provide a chisel edge at one side. (The chisel edge was not at the end, as with other tribes.) This was held against the base of the mescal and hammered with a convenient stone or stick. The long leaves were trimmed short with a knife; the mescal hatchet of other tribes being unknown. One leaf was left long so that the heads might be tied in pairs, or they were fastened in pairs by a stick thrust through them. A man would bring home only six or eight, not a full load, because they were scarce. 222 [137] [262] [462] [439] 222 412

The mescal heads were baked in a pit. A fire was built in it, but the usual stones omitted. The coals were raked out, the ashes sprinkled a little, the heads laid on this, covered with dirt, then ashes and a little fire. If prepared late in the morning, they were allowed to bake all the following night. The short leaves remaining on the baked head were stripped off to be chopped up and mashed in a mortar. This mass was spread to dry on peeled 252

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the land, allowing it to lie fallow for a year, provided they were able to live by gathering wild products. But if a widow had young children dependent on the crops, they would plant the season following (half a year later). On the owner's death they invited others to turn horses into his tract to clear it off as quickly as possible. If the crop was ripe the widow might tell relatives or neighbors to take it, "because while her husband was dying they had stayed night and day with her when they might have been planting for their own use." However should someone other than the male owner die, they might destroy the crops in this fashion, but usually not. This reinforces the conviction that title to the land was vested in men, but that all members of the family had some presumptive right to its use. 423 768

Two crops a year were obtained, as today by the white farmers of the Gila-Salt valleys, by planting in the early spring and again in midsummer. This biannual cropping system was coördinate with a biannual calendar, the series of month names opening with the planting of the first crop in early February and repeated with the second crop of late July or early August. Since the month names were also those of the sibs, there has derived a triple association of sib, month, and plant as totem. This does not imply that the association was historically primary with the Maricopa, since the lower Colorado tribes share it. Only one cultivated plant was so associated; corn with xavâtca'c sib, the other totem plants being wild. Xavâtca'c was the name given the lunation during which corn was planted: January–February and again July–August. 241 614 805 824 [171]

Corn was planted when the trees budded in early February, following the drying off of the floods of the preceding month which left the fields soft and moist. Pumpkins, beans, and black-eyed peas were planted at the same time, watermelons and cotton a month later. The beans and peas ripened about May, corn and watermelons in June, and pumpkins during the summer. A second crop of all these was obtained by planting again during July and the first half of August. Pumpkins and watermelons planted early in July and corn in early August would be ripe when the frost came in November. Cotton was planted in a sep- 241

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241 arate patch at the same time as watermelons. The Maricopa and
[171] some of the Yumans of the lower Colorado planted seeds which grew wild locally. Here ĭkca'mac, a grass seed, alone was cultivated (see above)."

243 Six varieties or colors of corn were named: light red corn
824 (daθi'cahwĭ't), dark red (daθi'caḳa'ḳ), white (daθi'cxama'l), yellow (daθi'cȧkwĕ's), blue (daθi'caxavȧcu'c), light pink (daθi'ckal,ă'p), and corn with streaked kernels (daθi'caʀuwa'). It was impossible to secure specimens of these, since they are said to be no longer cultivated, with the exception of a single small ear, which I am not sure was a local product. This is similar to the
[171] small ears grown by the Havasupai and known to them as Mohave corn.

243 Corn was planted in little holes scratched with a planting
[412] stick, five or six kernels together in a hole, at a depth of about six inches. It grew rapidly, pushing through the earth in three or four days. The grain was not previously prepared, as by soaking, but an old man creeping along would hold kernels in his mouth where they absorbed some moisture, but solely because he would not want to go back for seed. After the stalks came up, hills were hoed up around them with the same stick.

[614] Corn was the totem of the xavȧtca'c sib. Hence they would
243 say, as the first kernels were planted, "You [xavȧtca'c] are known
788 all over the world, are famous. Come up strong like that and feed everybody, so that no one will go hungry." I was also told that a man or woman of this sib would be got to repeat the formula, "Put me down in your field; bury me. I will be glad to come up."

412 The planting stick (i'i'xamĭl'ł or i'i'n,ĭmȧxwĕ'lyĭc, "stick for digging") was of cottonwood, about four feet long, two and a half inches in diameter, and flattened chiselwise for twelve inches at the lower end. It lacked the footrest of the Zuñi. My informant insisted on several occasions that they did not have the side-

[177] " My informants maintained that modern cultivation has wholly wiped out this plant. Kroeber (*ibid.*, p. 736) mentions four normally wild plants cultivated by the Mohave, among them aksamta which may be the same plant.

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The days were known to vary in length, but the solstices were not watched for, nor were they even named. 805 [821]

Both informants interrogated (Last Star and Kutox) stated that twelve months were counted but that there were only six names, which were repeated. The calendar month (halya', month, moon) seems to have been the lunar month. Its exact duration was unknown, apparently a matter of no concern, and I could not elicit whether it included the dark phase of the moon. Kutox stated that the moon appears twelve times a year.

The calendar was associated, not only with the seasonal appearance of plants, but with the sibs, totems, and personal names. 614 805 824 The names of the months were identical with those of sibs; the totemic plants were those gathered or planted during the month bearing the associated sib name; and the month name was said to "mean" corn and the like. Sib, month, and plant life formed a definite complex of associated ideas. Why sibs and months should bear the same names was a mystery to all informants. The association of months and plants was explained as ordained by the culture hero.

When Kukamat, the creator, died, people tried planting their seeds, but they did not know the right time. So they asked him to return. He said, "I do not know if you are strong enough to hear me." They all crowded into their one big house. When he came he spoke like thunder and they all fell asleep. All except Coyote, who tried to waken them. He told Coyote the proper time to plant and named the months so that he should know. Coyote told this to the people. [773]

The usual difficulty was encountered in attempting to get the month names and their order: "Don't remember; very long since anyone used the names." 124 805 The two informants agreed on the time the year began, the identity with sib names of at least some of the month names, and the plant-associations. The last point of agreement is important because it offers the possibility of arranging the names to agree with the seasonal round and their nearest Gregorian equivalents as follows:

February and August.....xavâtca'c
March and September.....ɣamitu'tc (doubtfully)
April and October.....xipa'
May and November.....l,ɛɯ'c
June and December.....kŭmâθi'
July and January.....mavîs or ɣamitu'tc

had the same calendar. These months are xavâtca'c, ẋamitu'tc, and kŭmâθi'. Other month names were doubtfully the same as sibs: Last Star added l,ew'c and mavĭ's as month names, Kutox added ẋipa'. Both gave macẋipa's as the name of a month, but Last Star maintained that this corresponded to the sib name

TABLE IV

SIBS

Maricopa*	Halchidhoma	Kohuana	Halyikwamai	Pima	Yuma
l,ew'c.....	l,ew'c	.....	.....	l,ew'c	.....
ẋipa'.....	ẋipa'	.....	.....	ẋipa'	.....
xavâtca'c....	xavâtca'c	.....	.....	.....	.....
ẋamitu'tc....	ẋamitu'tc	.....	.....	.....	.....
kŭmâθi'.....	kŭmâθi'	.....	.....	.....	.....
pakĭ't.....	pakĭ't	.....	.....	.....	.....
	cĭkâma'	cĭkâma'	.....	.....	.....
	kwŭc^{a}ku'	kwŭc^{a}ku'	.....	.....	.....
	l,âmu'c	l,âmu'c	.....	.....	.....
		cĭnyikwĭ's	.....	.....	.....
		sala'l	sala'l	.....	.....
mavĭ's (?)...	.....	.....	.....	.....	mavĭ's
	kwĭtk,ĭ'l,^{A}	.....	.....	.....	.....
		ẋĭlyi'	.....	.....	.....
			tŏẋpa's	.....	.....
					cŭkapa's

[114] * Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 742) gives a list of sibs purporting to be Maricopa, but it is palpable that these refer to the several Maricopa-speaking tribes now forming the joint community. Kwaku is evidently Halchidhoma and Kohuana kwĭc^{a}ku'. Kaila, sand, does not occur in any of my lists. The following sibs among the "Maricopa from the Cocopa," which Kroeber interprets to mean the Kohuana, do not occur in my list of local Kohuana sibs: halpot, a bush; kwutkil, any yellow animal; mave, rattlesnake; kwinia, deer; hutpas, sedge (see also Gifford, *Clans and Moieties*, pp. 158 f.). Of these, only one (kwutkil) is known locally. It may be that these Kohuana sibs exist among remnants of this tribe elsewhere.

ẋipa'. The significant point is that both felt that the sib system was in direct relation to the calendar round. The plants that are [824] cultivated, or which ripen in a certain month, are the totems of the sib having that month name. Thus, corn is planted in the two months named xavâtca'c (February and August); ẋamitu'tc is the month for gathering mesquite; cholla cactus ripens in ẋipa' and the giant cactus in kŭmâθi'; ẋipa' months (April and September) are also the months of rain. Corn, mesquite, cholla, suhuaro, and rain are all totems of the correspondingly named sibs.

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614 felt that there is an association between the totem and the totemite, but the character of the relationship is not defined. Its chief expression is in the naming-habit. Perhaps the quality of the association is best expressed in the manner in which it was translated: l,ew'c "means" buzzard; it "refers" to fire; it "takes its name after" the sun; mavi's "prefers" the rattlesnake; xavâtca'c and l,ew'c "have the same insect." For the rest, the totemites praised their totem or boasted of it; they looked on it as peculiarly theirs. People in general called the totem by the sib name on more solemn occasions, though not in everyday parlance. There were no taboos of any sort surrounding the totems; they did not hold them in any degree of veneration or awe, nor did they address prayers especially to them. All in all, the emotional quality of the association was very slight.

The following statements define the attitude:

614 People of l,ew'c sib say the sun makes the plants grow: they
821 would praise it. They call the sun l,ew'c, and say "Look down on us and make us feel happy. Come out and shine brightly on us; shine on our plants." People of other sibs would also call it l,ew'c and pray to it the same way. Those of this sib would praise the month l,ew'c, saying it was good for all living things, making them warm, and bringing green leaves on the trees.

Xipa' people regarded the rain prayerfully, saying, if it was cloudy, "Rain on the people so they may have plenty to eat." Other sibs would say, "xipa', look down on us and give us plenty of water." When one is eating opuntia fruit, he says "xipa', turn your back," meaning the spines should turn away so the eater will not be pricked.

614 In xavâtca'c month it is warm enough for plants to grow.
824 Corn is then planted; because they are starving, they are glad to put in the seeds. It takes but four days for the corn to come up. Hence, they, the xavâtca'c people, praise the plants. Xavâtca'c praised the corn as the prettiest thing that ever grew in the fields. If one was about to plant, the field being ready, he would get a man or woman of xavâtca'c, who would say, "Put me down in your field; bury me. I will be glad to come up," meaning he was

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the corn himself. But these xavâtca'c people would eat corn too; they would only praise it. 614 824

Those of xamitu'tc praise that month, saying the trees had again come to life, were standing up stoutly, ready to bring mesquite beans to feed everyone.

Pakĭ't would boast, speak well of the buzzard. (One of them said, "Our white friends have dreamed of the buzzards; that is why they make airplanes.") At harvest time when it is cloudy, and buzzards always fly about when it is overcast, pakĭ't people say, "cimu'l (sib), drive all the clouds away, so rain will not destroy our crops." 614 825

Kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[4] sib looked on the eagle and lizards as its friends, and as friends, would not kill them. Kutox (of this sib) said, "When I see the little lizard, I praise it and boast of it as something big. I pray to the eagle when I go to bed, 'You are way above the sky and can look down on me and protect me. When I am asleep and there is any harm near, wake me.' To the lizard, I say, 'You are creeping on the ground just like the poisonous snakes: try to keep the poisonous creatures away from me.'"

Although several sibs had the same totems, there was no tendency to group them on this basis in phratries. That is, they recognized that two sibs had identical sentiments for a particular totem and that their relationship was therefore different from that with other sibs, yet there was no temptation to consolidate such pairs. Several statements describe this position. The Maricopa sibs xavâtca'c and l,eω'c "have the same insect" (a red or yellow beetle), so they are "almost alike," yet they could freely intermarry. Pakĭ't and l,eω'c both refer to the buzzard, but they do not consider themselves related. Pakĭ't people call it pakĭ't, while l,eω'c call it by their sib name. Contradictory to this, the single Halyikwamai family of sala'l sib have mesquite for a totem; so has Maricopa xamitu'tc, hence "these would consider themselves as belonging to one group." 614 [615]

It is significant that although the Maricopa community knows the Pima quite well, my informant had no inkling of Pima social structure. The Pima have five patrilineal sibs bearing meaning- 829

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cases of "illness by intrusion." The illness was thought of as due to the contamination of the dream. Illnesses were ever present, as we might say of pandemic diseases. They had no concrete form to be sucked out as an object. We can hardly speak here of contrasting theories of disease: soul loss *versus* intrusion. 753

The loss of the soul was suggested as the cause only when the symptoms were of one kind, fainting spells; when it was assumed the patient had dreamed of the dead. Such a person would be in apparent good health, when suddenly "he thinks he turns around and sees a dead relative coming, and there! he is dead," i.e., faints. 753 774 787 828

W——, a boy of fourteen, said that whenever he has fainting spells, his dead relatives appear to him; always two or three old men together. They talk to him, saying, "Come on; come along with us." His dead grandfather is the principal visitor. He also said that when a little child, he saw a ghost, dressed in white, seated on the spot where later his uncle was cremated. This ghost kept on nodding her head with its long hair.[16]

Illness and death due to manifest physical causes were regarded as of natural origin, even though the occasion of accident or wounding was held the result of non-physical influences. In answer to the direct question whether natural deaths did not occur, Kutox replied in the affirmative: in old age, but they were very rare (naturally, since few survive to old age). Of them they said "their heart pulls down," 'iwana'l,g. 761 [753]

In all cases it was held that

before a person dies, while he is sick, they say the soul is already gone. During his sickness, his soul wanders in all the places the man has been on his hunting trips. After the soul gets tired, it makes up its mind that it is going to the land of the dead. Then, when the soul goes there, the man dies. [774]

It was not fully specified what things it was dangerous to dream about beyond the conflict of the spirit birds (p. 248), but several plants were mentioned. One called i'icama'c, "root wood," was a vine, which, growing beside a tree, made the tree twist. If one dreamed of this, or went near enough to smell it, he became entirely paralyzed and his body was sensitive to the touch. If this root be placed in the sun, it wiggled; so with the 753 787 [824]

[16] These "fainting spells" are apparently epileptic seizures. This is the lad who as a child could understand the language of dogs (p. 240).

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Kaveltcadom
Yuma Mohave
Halchidhoma

753 787 [756] patient, his limbs twisted. This could be cured by a shaman who dreamed of either Coyote or Buzzard (the informant was uncertain).

● [824] Another plant, called i'iuxa's, "scraped wood," caused chills and fever. The shaman never told in this connection of what he himself had dreamed. On diagnosing an illness as due to this cause he secretly dispatched a man of l,ew'c sib for ironwood (axpa'lg) in the morning. A limb was scraped and fashioned into [755] an image of the patient by this man, who at noon suddenly entered and held it close before the patient's eyes. When the latter saw it, he began to cry aloud. Then the shaman proceeded with his cure.[27]

The most dangerous thing of which to dream was kwarao'-kuma'clc, "iron eater." (kwarao' was the name formerly applied to the stone of which knife blades were made, presumably obsidian, now transferred to iron.) The informant knew nothing of this dream object but its name. This disease caused sores, which ate away the flesh and the bone below. A shaman who could cure [756] this had dreamed of a high pile of sand. When a hole is dug into the base of a pile of loose sand, the sand runs in as fast as one removes it. Hence the spirit (what it was is unknown) showed him how to stop it with his hand, which he then knew how to apply to the running sore.

115 756 Curing shamans were relatively few; five or six at any time. There is a question whether women were ever shamans. Last Star declared that there were none known among Maricopa and Kaveltcadom, although Mohave, Yuma, and Halchidhoma had them. Kutox's statement that at any one time there were one or two is probably to be interpreted as referring to the mixed community as a whole or to his own Halchidhoma group.[28]

755 The manner of calling a shaman to cure was stereotyped. An elderly man of the patient's family approached the shaman's house, calling him by the appropriate kinship term. He did not

[171] [27] This is reminiscent of Pima and Papago curing by touching effigies in the Vikita-Navitco complex.

[28] Last Star confirmed Russell's statement that the Pima women shamans specialized on abdominal diseases (*Pima Indians*, p. 261).

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Halchidhoma
Yuma

539x An Halchidhoma dreams his dog will help them (as an old Yuma woman had dreamed of hers). Secretly visiting the Yuma, this man hears them plan to attack the Halchidhoma. The dog champions fight; the Yuman dog is worsted. The man strikes his basket to cause a storm. The Halchidhoma slay all the Yuma. The dog told his master how they felt when abused, so *people* [825] *must never abuse dogs.*

THE VISIT OF THE DEAD (p. 399)

A family cross the desert east of the Colorado (the land of the dead). The dead come, offering food. The wife falls asleep: she dies. The husband keeps himself and their baby awake: they escape. *If one falls asleep in this place he will die.*

CORN AND TOBACCO (p. 400)

Corn and Tobacco quarrel over which is most useful. Corn boasts of feeding warriors, but Tobacco boasts of being used by everyone as well. In anger, Tobacco goes to the west and Corn [824] to Mexico, *hence corn and tobacco do not grow well here.*

CLOUD AND WIND (p. 400)

Cloud and Wind are brothers. Wind blows too hard; people curse the brothers. In anger, Cloud and Wind go up through a hole in the sky. There is a drought on earth. Coyote is sent to discover the pair. He is given down to test the wind. Failing to find them he blows the down: they discover the trickery. Buzzard searches and at the sky-hole his down is blown. He goes to their house, but both turn away from him in anger. They finally tell Buzzard to instruct the people to repair their houses and prepare their fields. Cloud and Wind descend and make a storm. [821] *Now they live in the sky so that there are no longer any hard storms.*

COYOTE HUSBAND (p. 403)

The coyotes decide to help the Halchidhoma. Two coyotes entice an Halchidhoma girl. She marries a coyote: her people think she is dead. Her coyote-child is to be a great warrior. The coyotes decide to take her back. She is warned not to disclose where she has been and to await her coyote-husband. The coy-